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CULTURAL PATTERNS AS REVEALED IN CHINESE PROVERBS

By Fu-Liang Chang, Berea College

China is an ancient country with the largest population in the world. There are physical and cultural differences in the various sections of the country. Yet in spite of these differences, the Chinese have the same general attitude toward life and a common system of values. This cultural heritage can perhaps best be found in the proverbs of the common people.

Chinese society in most parts of China is largely agricultural, and the people live in somewhat isolated communities or villages, several of which are grouped around a market town. The size of the villages varies from a few households to thousands of families. In some villages the majority of people belong to one clan or name, such as Li or Chang. The elders of the leading clan have a very important voice in the village, not only because they are respected for their age but also because they are repositories of folk wisdom and folklore.

Their opinions are sought in solving common problems of the village, in settling disputes between local parties, and in providing for the common welfare of the community. In dealing with government officials of the district, the elders render very important services. In case of banditry, they appoint men to guard and defend the village against looting. Although the whole country may be in upheaval or revolution, the peaceful occupation of the village continues under the traditional rule of the elders.

Some village elders may be illiterate, but they are by no means ignorant. They dispense their wisdom in the form of proverbs which all the people understand and accept. Two men may be quarreling at a street corner of the village. Soon a crowd forms around the disputants, each of whom tries to pull the other to his ancestral hall where he will get the backing of his clan. Presently a village elder arrives at the scene; his first sentence may be a well-known proverb: "A superior man uses his mouth, but a mean man uses his fists." He asks the disputants to chang-li or "talk reason." Each presents his case, and the elder decides in favor of the one who seems to be in the right. The bystanders usually agree and the quarrel is thus ended.

The family is the center of Chinese society. Its system of values places much importance on peaceable associations and promo-

tion of the solidarity and well-being of the whole family. When a villager is asked what he would like most in life, he will probably say: "Good parents, a happy marriage, good children and a fine funeral."

Marriages in Chinese villages are mostly parent-arranged. Wise parents choose life-mates for their children rather objectively and intelligently. In most cases the young man falls in love with his wife after the wedding. Few divorces are known in rural communities. Conjugal love is considered too personal an affair to write and to talk about, but it is quietly understood and appreciated by all. Here is a suggestive proverb on conjugal love: "Husband and wife have no enmities that can survive over the night."

Chinese parents will make any sacrifice for their children's welfare. They realize the problems involved in bringing up children, and delinquency of Chinese children in the United States has been conspicuous by its absence. Chinese parents identify their children's interests with their own, and children identify their interests with those of their parents. Thus they share each other's honor or shame, joys or sorrows, success or failure. How many Chinese parents who have occupied high positions in government remind themselves of the proverb, "It is easy to govern a kingdom but difficult to rule one's family"! Many parents say "Amen" to this: "Do not pray for gold and jade and precious things, but pray that your children and grandchildren may all be good."

Filial piety or love for one's parents, and loyalty to friends are two cardinal virtues highly valued in Chinese society. Not only the followers of Confucius but also Buddhists and Taoists never cease to teach the people the importance of filial piety. When one visits a famous temple, one often finds word-sermons on the walls of the temple: "Filial piety is the highest of all virtues; adultery is the blackest of all sins." Another saying is: "Honor your parents at home. Why travel afar to burn incense?"

During the Second World War hundreds of thousands of people trekked from the enemy-occupied territory on the coast to Free China in the interior. They were frequently bombed by enemy planes on the way. During one of the air raids an American missionary lady, whom we know, hid herself along with other Chinese refugees under bushes on the hillside. After the air raid she thanked them for their care of her. One of the refugees quoted this proverb: "At home we rely on our parents; abroad we rely on our friends."

Chinese literature gives little prominence to romance, the staple topic of Western fiction. Friendship between men often occu-

pies the important part of a story which only mirrors social relationships as found in Chinese society. Chinese children learn in grade schools of famous friendships in Chinese history. One story is about a well-known general who successfully defended his country against its enemy. However, he looked down upon the prime minister as a man of little importance. Some one told the general that the prime minister had said that the two were like tigers when defending their country, and that in fighting each other their country would suffer. Realizing his fault, the general took his coat off his back like a prisoner and went to the prime minister to ask for forgiveness. These two men became great friends, and through their united effort, their country became strong and was highly respected by other countries. Another story is about two men who met by chance on board a houseboat one night. Both loved music and soon became fast friends. The one enjoyed hearing the other play the lute. Before parting they agreed to meet at the same place on the same day a year hence, but when the time arrived the lute player was told that his friend had died. He broke his lute and said that he would never play again.

Sentimental stories like these have created a romantic feeling about friendship. Friendship lasts long in Chinese society and works like a charm in many a difficult situation. The Chinese enjoy friendships and feel a rightful pride in having many friends. They are very sentimental about old friends. We find a wealth of proverbs on friendship:

A good man will die for his friends; a beautiful woman will dress for those who appreciate her.

If you drink with a friend, a thousand cups are too few;
if you argue with a man, half a sentence is too much.

Without a bright mirror a woman cannot know if the powder is smooth on her face; without a true friend the intelligent man cannot know the mistakes that he makes.

The Chinese do not like to go to extremes. When Mencius (372-289 B.C.) taught the doctrine of the golden mean, the "middle-of-the-road" way of life was already popular with the people. In a dispute they chang-li, that is, appeal to reason. When a man resorts to force to settle a dispute, he is, in the eyes of the common people, already wrong, because they say he has a guilty conscience. In a battle when a general finds out that his forces are fighting against great odds, he

usually finds a way to a negotiated peace. When an army besieges a city, one gate of the wall around the city is sometimes left open so that the beleaguered forces may find a way for escape. Like the ancient Greeks who taught "nothing in excess" as a way of life, the Chinese consider self-restraint a virtue, and maturity in human behavior as being round outside and square within. Here is a proverb about voluntary restraint: "Use only nine parts of your shrewdness; reserve one part for the benefit of your children."

Next to moderation is the idea of patience as a cultural pattern of great value. Patience has proved to be a virtue as well as a vice of our people. It is a virtue because the Chinese have been able to adjust themselves to life conditions, both favorable and unfavorable, and to survive the vicissitudes of forty centuries. As a people, perhaps they suffer less from personal maladjustment, neurosis, high blood pressure or stomach ulcers than do those living in industrially advanced nations. It is a vice for the Chinese to bear oppression too patiently and perhaps too easily. Many inventions such as gunpowder, the mariner's compass and the printing press owe their origin to the Chinese but have never been as fully developed as in more aggressive countries. In the following proverbs contentment is equated with happiness, happiness with peace, and everything else with fate:

He who is poor but contented is a happy man; he who is not contented, even though rich, is a sad man.

To dwell in peace is happiness.

Life and death are decreed; riches and honor are from Heaven.

The Chinese appreciate the value of education, for education is the path that leads to wealth, honor, and fame. Although illiterate and unschooled, parents are willing to make all sorts of sacrifices in order that their sons may get an education. Many years ago when I was five, my father took me to an old school in the village. I can still see in my mind's eye that school, and I remember how the old teacher time and again quoted to the children the following proverbs, which we came to know well:

The youthful student must cut and grind, for nothing can be made of gold until it is hammered; when the trusty sword is blunt it must be sharpened.

Study thoroughly and think deeply.

We were taught that a humble attitude was the price for learning and that by willingness to pay the price we could learn from everybody. The teacher quoted Confucius: "When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them; their bad qualities I will avoid."

He deeply impressed upon his pupils the value of time by this proverb: "An inch of time is worth an inch of gold, but an inch of gold cannot buy an inch of time."

Religion in China under Confucianism is moral education. This is taught largely by proverbs. Some proverbs are rather lofty in ideas and are comparable to Biblical passages:

The ways of Heaven are impartial.

Good has its own reward, evil its own punishment;
if there seems to be no apparent punishment for
evil, it is only because the time has not arrived.

He who sows hemp will reap hemp; he who sows
beans will reap beans.

Better that others be ungrateful to me than that I
should be so to others.

Chinese proverbs are distilled wisdom gained from human experience. The Chinese language in characters or pictographs is like the brush of an artist, which gives vivid impressions and fine shades of meaning with a few strokes. Tien Hsia Yi Chia, literally means "Under Heaven we are only one family." We have many such pithy sayings; their meanings are implied but impossible to misunderstand.

When all goes well you do not burn incense, but when
desperate you embrace Buddha's feet.

He who rides a tiger is afraid to dismount (The difficulty
of getting out of an awkward situation).

A bitter mouth is good medicine (Truth is better
than flattery).

The rural people are excellent observers of human behavior and human frailties, and the keen observations revealed in their proverbs are not without a touch of humor.

It is easy to treat a guest well at first, but if he stays too long, it may be difficult.

When the guests have gone the host is at peace.

Although some proverbs have come down from ancient times, even from before the time when writing was invented, many are still very appropriate for modern times. Right after the death of Joseph Stalin, Malenkov and Beria, the two most powerful men in Soviet Russia, were, in the language of a Chinese proverb, "sleeping on the same bed but dreaming different dreams." Perhaps each of us knows some clever man who has been a great success in his professional career but has made a mess of his personal life. About such a person the Chinese would say: "Clever men are sometimes the victims of their own cleverness." And finally, this cold war may be compared to the weather. In the language of a Chinese proverb, "It thunders loudly but rains very little."

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FROM APE TO MAN AND FROM MAN TO APE

By Margaret Gump, Moravian College

The contemporary German poet Erich Kästner has written a poem, "The Development of Mankind" ("Die Entwicklung der Menschheit"), which begins with the stanza:

Once the fellows were perched on trees
Hairy and with an ugly face.
Then they were lured away from the virgin forest;
The world was asphalted and skyscrapers were built
For them, thirty floors high,

and which, after a satirical description of human progress--central heating, telephone, tooth brushes, atomic physics, psychoanalysis--closes with the stanza:

Thus they have created with their heads and mouths
The progress of mankind.
But apart from that and
If you look closely at them
They are still the same old apes.¹

These verses by Kästner could be the motto of my paper. The stories and the play I want to treat all deal with the relation between man and ape, either allowing an ape to become a man or having man degenerate into an ape. In the story "The Ape as Man" ("Der Affe als Mensch," 1827), by Wilhelm Hauff, the German romanticist, an ape is permitted to ape civilized man and to deceive the citizens of a small town until they, in return, ape him; in Kafka's story, "A Report to an Academy" ("Ein Bericht für eine Akademie," 1917), the ape actually becomes a man, at least superficially; in O'Neill's play, "The Hairy Ape" (1921), the hero is seen by others as an ape and comes to consider himself as such; and in Huxley's novel, Ape and Essence (1948), human society is run by apes before its final ruin. In two of his earlier novels, Huxley had already hinted at the ape theme. In Brave New World, man purposely breeds semi-moron simian creatures for manual tasks, and in After Many a Summer Dies the Swan, man in his search for longevity finds himself regressing to the ape.

The stories, as well as the play, are satires of modern civilization or, at least, as in Hauff's case, of some aspects of it. What kind of civilization is this, they seem to ask, in which an ape can successfully imitate man or in which man has sunk so low as to re-

semble the ape? "Kafka," Max Brod says in his biography, "lets the animal be raised to the level of a human being, but what a level of humanity, to a masquerade at which mankind is unmasked."² Or as the Narrator in Ape and Essence (quoting from "Measure for Measure") expresses it:

But man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority--
Most ignorant of what he is most assur'd,
His glassy essence--like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep (pp. 34-35).

None of the works discussed here deals with the problem of evolution as such as does Jack London's Before Adam, this strange phantasy which makes a twentieth century hero dream of his simian ancestors and relive their lives in his own imagination. All of the works discussed here are primarily interested in man's present situation, his present predicament.

In Hauff's story, "The Ape as Man," a man of means, disgusted with the gossipy, importunate ways of the citizens of the little town of Grünwiesel, wants to get even with these Philistines. He secretly acquires an orang-outang, trains him and has him trained and introduces him into the Grünwiesel society as his nephew. Nobody has the moral courage to say anything when his apish ways shine through the thin varnish of his education. The people in Grünwiesel behave very much like the people in Andersen's "The Emperor's New Clothes." They also forgive the nephew many strange, unmannerly things since he is supposed to be English and, as they say, they could not take anything amiss in an Englishman, an obvious mockery of the Anglomania of Hauff's time.³ Every time the nephew gets too apish, the uncle ties his necktie tighter, whereupon the nephew behaves himself. (We might take the necktie as a humorous symbol of the restricting forces of civilization.) When the final concert of the season, in which the nephew is to take part, approaches, the uncle feigns illness and tells the mayor to loosen his tie, in case the nephew should misbehave. The result of this is, of course, that his apish nature comes to the foreground until, after a free-for-all, a courageous hunter catches the poor animal. A natural historian present at the concert identifies him as an orang-outang. The Grünwieseler have to admit ashamedly that they have been admiring an ape! He is then given to the natural historian and the old order is thus re-established.

The story did not originate with Hauff; it goes back to E. T. A. Hoffmann's story, "News About a Cultured Young Man" ("Nachricht

von einem gebildeten und jungen Mann"), about an ape who became a man. The greater part of Hoffmann's story is in the form of a letter which Milo, who signs as "formerly ape, now independent artist and scholar," writes to his sweetheart. He has become a musical virtuoso who, sterile, ignorant and conceited as he is, passes judgment on the true creative genius from whom he snatches his laurels. The whole is a caricature of a culture in which empty words and slogans have replaced ideas. After the ape has learned how to speak, he is worried about the thought content to be put into his speech. His teacher, a professor of aesthetics, laughs at him:

...You will be astonished [he says] how thoughts come to you while speaking, how wisdom will rise within you.... Often you will not understand yourself--but that really is the true inspiration produced through speaking.⁴

Hoffmann's parody of the times is less good-natured than Hauff's; he is aware of the dangers of a culture which has to be spread thinner and thinner if everybody wants to partake of it. What Hoffmann and Hauff have in common is that both aim their mockery at some facets of their civilization: Hoffmann at the sciences and art of his time, at the would-be-artists and know-it-alls; Hauff at the superficial culture of the Philistines of a little town.

The first work which transcends these limits and treats the ape-man theme in a universal manner is Kafka's "A Report to an Academy." The story is, as the title indicates, in the form of a letter written by the ape himself, as was Hoffmann's story.

From the report we learn how an ape from the Gold Coast is caught alive, having been wounded in the process in his cheek and hip, by a hunting expedition of the Hagenbeck firm, well-known dealers in wild animals. He is taken aboard and put into a cage which is too low for standing and too narrow for sitting. No way to freedom is left except through death or assimilation of the ways of his guardians. He chooses the latter. His "education" is started on board ship and as soon as the ship arrives in Hamburg he is given a trainer. In order to avoid another cage in the zoo, he decides on a career in night clubs. Through an enormous effort, he quickly (in five years, to be exact) acquires the education of the average European. He succeeds in his career with men accepting him as one of their equals and leads a comfortable physical life, which includes a little half-trained she-ape as his mistress.

All the interpretations which have been tried for Kafka's story cannot be discussed in detail here. None of the interpreters,

to my knowledge, has used all the clues Kafka himself has given us in some fragments of the story and in his diaries of 1916. (The story was first published in 1917.) One of the fragments is in the form of an interview which the now famous ape grants to the writer of the story and in which the writer says to the ape: "Unheard-of achievement. To throw off one's apishness and to gallop through the whole development of mankind in five years. Truly, nobody has ever done that. You are alone on this race track."⁵

Whatever else the story may mean, it is above all the story of natural, free, innocent and happy man who, being still part of the animal world, loses his contact with nature and his freedom at the same time, is crippled through civilization (this could be the meaning of the wanton shot in the hip) and put into its narrow cage. The cage, it is true, is more than a symbol of civilization; it is a symbol of that "sustained feeling of oppression," that "metaphysical anguish," in which Vietta rightly sees the basic unifying element of Kafka's work.⁶

In Kafka's diary of 1916 we find recorded a dream which almost literally depicts the dreadful situation of the ape who finds himself in a cage which is altogether too small and which conveys the same agonizing feeling of being hopelessly trapped.⁷ For the ape there is no true escape possible back to nature and freedom, only a "way out" (Ausweg), and that is to imitate his captors, to become one of them, even though they do not attract him with their uniform ways and their gloomy eyes. His assimilation is only a means to an end, namely, freedom. And even this freedom is only a limited one, so limited that he does not want to call it thus. The only real freedom, freedom without restriction from any side, is not available to man except as an illusion. What man calls freedom is something an unspoiled child of nature would laugh at, a parody of holy nature. And yet--this is one of the immanent contradictions of our human situation--man can but yearn for this unavailable limitless freedom.⁸

What does the ape have to do to become a man? He has to forget his origin, forget that he was once free, give up every self-will in order to become one of the uniform mass. He has to learn how to shake hands (supposedly a sign of frankness), how to spit into another's face (a symbol of human hostility), how to smoke a pipe and how to drink schnapps. As soon as he has learned how to drink schnapps, he can speak--although he only shouts "hallo"--and is received into the human community. Throughout the whole story there is great emphasis put on this drinking of schnapps and it is, ironically enough, together with spitting and smoking, the only

distinguishing factor between the ape and his first teacher, that is, between man and beast.

In the course of his education the ape uses up many teachers and finally hires five teachers himself, seats them in adjoining rooms and studies simultaneously with them by jumping incessantly from one room to another. What a satire on modern education, this way of acquiring the knowledge of the average European! This is the "hodge-podge" of our liberal education of which Clarence Day speaks in This Simian World, and the "Tarzana College" of Huxley's After Many a Summer Dies the Swan. In contrast to Hoffmann's conceited ape, however, our hero remains skeptical and is only moderately happy about his fantastic achievement. The accumulation of knowledge is not the solution to the human problem and, as Vietta says, "even the Academy, anxious for knowledge, is part of the same vaudeville show."⁹ In one of the original fragments of the story, the satire on education is even stronger. Herr Busenau, the impresario, is the possessor of the highest decorations, the king of trainers, doctor honoris causa of the large universities, and as he might try to stuff education down his students' throats, he wants to feed forcibly an omelet to his visitor.¹⁰

If one analyses the advantages the new way of life grants the ape after he has finished his education, one realizes that they are exclusively material. It is a meaningless life he leads, a sham existence: work as a showman, late-into-the-night banquets, meetings of scientific societies, and intimate parties, and then at home the half-trained she-ape whom he does not want to see by daylight because she betrays in her look the mental confusion of the trained animal. He is neither here nor there--he has lost the strength, freedom, vitality, joy and innocence of the animal and has not gained any new spiritual freedom; he has not, as Vietta, quoting Kierkegaard, says, made the "'qualitative jump' into the human state."¹¹ The human situation, in Kafka's eyes, is still hopeless.

Although O'Neill, in "The Hairy Ape," treats the ape-man theme in reverse order--his hero Yank is a real man, a stoker, who from the steel cage of a ship finds his way into the cage of the gorilla in the zoo--the play is actually closely related to Kafka's story, more closely than the Hoffmann-Hauff version, which seems more similar on the surface. "The Hairy Ape," O'Neill has said himself, is "a symbol of man who has lost his old harmony with nature, the harmony which he used to have as an animal and has not yet acquired in a spiritual way."¹² These words could also be applied to Kafka's ape, whose new life, as we have seen, is not a new harmony, but a parody of life and harmony, and, in its main

aspects, for instance the sex life, still animal-like minus the innocence of the animal. This kind of life which, from the human viewpoint, one could call mere vegetating, leaves Kafka's ape-man discontented, although he does not revolt against his destiny. Yank, in O'Neill's play, does not resign himself to this precarious position:

. . . I ain't on oath and I ain't in heaven, get me? He complains to the gorilla in the final scene of the play I'm in the middle tryin' to separate 'em, takin' all de woist punches from bot' of 'em. Maybe dat's what dey call hell, huh?

It is not that Yank does not feel the beauty of nature, but he suffers from not being any longer a part of it. He had watched a beautiful sunrise down at the waterfront and tells the gorilla about his experience: ". . . Sure, it was great stuff. I got it aw'right--what Paddy said about dat bein' de right dope--on'y I couldn't get in it, see? I couldn't belong in dat. It was over my head." This, in Yank's primitive language, is the old Faustian outcry: "What a spectacle, but a spectacle only, alas! Where can I grasp thee, infinite nature!"

In the beginning of the play, Yank thinks that it is possible for him to substitute a new harmony for the bygone harmony with nature, about which the old stoker Paddy, who had been working on sailing ships, raves. Yank identifies himself with steel, with speed, with the machine into which he is feeding coal, in the same way in which the hero in O'Neill's play "Dynamo" worships electricity as the "great mother." From the very beginning Yank's faith in himself as an important part of the machine is much too boastful and not easily shaken. When Mildred, the first class passenger, daughter of the president of a steel trust, comes down to the furnace room "to discover how the other half lives" and insults Yank by likening him to a filthy beast, his faith in his own importance, dignity and worth as a man is seriously undermined. Yank recognizes, although dimly at first, that man cannot realize himself by identifying himself with steel, movement, speed. He becomes more and more bewildered, and it is in the prison scene that he becomes aware of what steel stands for: "Cages, cells, locks, bolts, bars--dat's what it means!--holdin' me down wit him at de top!" "Him" is the president of the steel trust.

Despite Yank's hatred of Mildred, her father, and all they stand for, it would be completely wrong to interpret "The Hairy Ape" mainly as a social drama, an attack on social injustice. It is only the minor characters who interpret everything out of their class-consciousness, and Mildred is only the catalyst which starts Yank

thinking. Besides, the members of the upper class have not solved Yank's problem of belonging any better than has he himself; they have lost the touch with nature as much as he. The cage which runs as a leitmotiv through the whole play is not so much a symbol of social oppression as it is a symbol of a much more general oppression and bewilderment, that metaphysical anguish which Kafka's heroes experience. In the stage direction to Scene 1, the noise the sailors make is described as "the bewildered, furious, baffled defiance of a beast in a cage."

But man cannot live without the sense of belonging, and since Yank, as O'Neill says, "can't go forward," "he tries to go back."¹³ He goes to the Zoo, frees the gorilla, tries to shake hands with him as his "brother," but is crushed by him in a murderous hug. "Even him didn't tink I belonged," he says. It is only in death that Yank can find the much-longed-for union with nature. "And, perhaps, the Hairy Ape at last belongs," are the last words of the play. The man who had given O'Neill the first stimulus to write the play, an Irish stoker with the name of Driscoll, had found this union by jumping overboard in mid-ocean.¹⁴ Kafka's ape-man, while in his cage on board ship, saw two ways to absolute freedom: to flee into the cage of the boa constrictors and be crushed to death (as was Yank) or to jump into the ocean and be drowned (as was Driscoll). For Kafka's ape-man no more than for O'Neill's Hairy Ape is there a return to nature other than in death. Kafka's ape-man says:

The gate which heaven forms above the earth became lower and lower, narrower and narrower, as I speeded my development, . . . and the hole in the distance . . . through which I once came has become so narrow that, even if my strength and willpower were sufficient to go back that far, I could not creep through any more without flaying myself.¹⁵

The main difference between Kafka's hero and O'Neill's seems to be that Kafka's hero (quite unlike other heroes of Kafka) resigns himself to a partial solution of the insolvable human problem, whereas O'Neill's hero takes the consequences of the hopeless situation in which he finds himself. Yank arouses our pity; despite his crudity, despite the fact that he has been likened to a hairy ape, he remains very human to the end in his tragic search for his place on earth.

Huxley's world in Ape and Essence is not human any more; it is a world of human baboons who can but destroy each other, which they do with great scientific thoroughness with the help of the Ein-

steins, whom they force into accomplishing their apish aims. The survivors of this mass destruction are subhuman and live under the fearful rod of Belial amidst the ruins of what was once beautiful, flourishing Southern California. A young explorer from Australia, which, being so far away, was not affected by World War III, is thrown into this subhuman atmosphere. He promptly falls in love with one of the survivors who, miraculously enough, has not been affected, or at least not at the core, by all the dreadful things which have been happening around her. The lovers finally flee to Northern California to start life all over again. If Kafka's ape-man has irrevocably lost Paradise, if O'Neill's hero feels that his situation resembles Hell, Huxley's young couple are a new Adam and Eve, only on their way from Hell to Paradise. Unfortunately, Huxley's vision of the Hell from which they are fleeing is much clearer than his vision of the new Paradise to which they are going. The lovers' deep passion finds its lofty expression in some exquisite verse by Shelley, but how can we be sure that deformations caused by atomic rays will not appear in the children of our blissful young couple?

In summarizing this brief study, we might observe the following:

Almost a hundred years lie between the story by Hauff, the German romanticist (1827), and Kafka's story (1917) and O'Neill's play (1921). Huxley's novel appeared about twenty-five years later, in 1948. Mankind and its civilization have gone from bad to worse, and we see how the satire has grown more and more bitter. If Hauff could still deal humorously and playfully with a specific situation and have a conciliatory ending, barely touching upon the deeper implications of the theme (and this is true, although to a lesser degree, of his predecessor Hoffmann), Kafka's ape-man finds no real solution, only a "way out" from his cage, and the only way out for O'Neill's hero is a tragic death in spite of the play's being called "a comedy of ancient and modern life." Huxley's novel, written after the Hitler régime and the holocaust of World War II, is by far the most bitter satire of all the works discussed here in spite of its paradoxical "happy ending." Man, instead of rising to new spiritual heights, has sunk to the level of baboons and brought unspeakable misery on himself. It might be wiser to listen to the lesson to be learned from Huxley's vision of what things will be after a Third World War than to put too much trust in his belief that however much we have sinned against the "Order of Things" we can always return to it.

NOTES

1. Erich Kästner, Ergriffenes Dasein, Deutsche Lyrik 1900-1950 (München, 1953), p. 232. (Translations mine.)
2. Max Brod, Franz Kafka (New York, 1947), p. 135. See also Heinz Politzer, Franz Kafka: Vor dem Gesetz (Berlin, 1934), p. 78.
3. Hauffs Werke in sechs Teilen (Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong & Co., 1907), I, 212.
4. E. T. A. Hoffmanns sämtliche Werke in fünfzehn Bänden (Leipzig:Max Hesses Verlag, 1900), I, 297.
5. Franz Kafka, Gesammelte Schriften, herausgegeben von Max Brod, 2. Ausgabe (New York, 1946), V, 322.
6. Egon Vietta, "The Fundamental Revolution," in The Kafka Problem, ed. Angel Flores (New York, 1946), p. 346.
7. Franz Kafka, Tagebücher (New York, 1948 and 1949), p. 503.
8. Kafka, Schriften, I, 170-171. See also Tagebücher, p. 514; Schriften V, 278-280.
9. Flores, p. 343.
10. Kafka, Schriften, V, 320.
11. Flores, p. 343.
12. Barrett H. Clark, Eugene O'Neill, The Man and His Plays (New York, 1929), p. 127.
13. Ibid., p. 127.
14. Ibid., p. 128.
15. Kafka, Schriften, I, 167.

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THRONE AND SCEPTER: GREEK VIEWS OF REALITY AND POWER

By Frank R. Kramer, Heidelberg College

In every man's Olympia, in the sacred precincts of every people, sits scepter-bearing Zeus. One may have worshiped often in the temple, another may never have crossed the threshold; but for each the throne is there. This is what Kardiner calls his "reality-system,"¹ his "moral and religious, as well as...material, environment."² "The whole body of beliefs existing in any given age," says Dicey, "may generally be traced to certain fundamental assumptions which at the time, whether they be actually true or false, are believed by the mass of the world to be true with such confidence that they hardly appear to bear the character of assumptions."³

We may go further. We may make the fundamental assumption that reality-systems beget their own kinds of power, that with each throne goes its own kind of scepter. As reality-systems are transformed, so are the patterns of power. "The foundations of power vary from age to age," Tawney observed, "with the interests which move men, and the aspects of life to which they attach a preponderant importance."⁴

Everyone knows what reality is: it is simply "what is." Unfortunately, each of us has his own idea of what really is. The scientist has one answer, the psychologist another. The artist and the historian live in different worlds. As Uexküll says, "Reality is not a unique and homogeneous thing; it is immensely diversified, having as many different schemes and patterns as there are different organisms."⁵ And Cassirer concludes: "Every feature of our human experience has a claim to reality."⁶ The search for reality, even in Greek thought, must be a continuing one; as contemporary thinkers probe the frontiers of matter and mind, historical and folk belief, there is bound to be a constant reassessment of what is at the root of things, and assuredly this will be reflected in our interpretation of the Greeks. It may well be that the search for reality--and so for the bases of power--is a hopelessly complex if not a futile one.

There are, nevertheless, certain approaches to reality in Greek thought which appear to be more fruitful than others. We might engage Homer and the devotees of the mystery religions as our guides to the ultimate, as Dante follows Vergil and Beatrice

along the path to the revelation of the Presence. As Jeans and Bergson seek to unveil the face of reality in the world of pure thought, mathematical relations, and process, so Plato, Pythagoras, and the Milesian philosophers draw the curtains that conceal Being and Becoming. And the Greek tragedians, like Freud, have taught us to look within the soul of man for what is ultimately real. It is my present purpose, however, not to sail these fascinating seaways to ultima Thule but rather to stop at certain familiar ports of call, to select certain fundamental concepts that recur in Greek literature. It may be that these concepts--for example, dike (justice), physis (nature), Moira (Fate), and arete (excellence)--will bring us to representative views of reality and to the forms of power derived from them.

Homer's world is an orderly if not a consistent one, a world somehow subject not to caprice and confusion but to dike, the way and the time-rhythm of things,⁷ and Moira, the order of things. It is a cosmos in which Moira fixes both the order and the limits, in which the gods serve as guardians of justice⁸ and sustainers of the natural and moral order.⁹ Moira is often simply "due measure," "one's just portion"--an idea that shades easily into that of "balance." And so it is she who assigns to each mortal his due measure, his lot in life. If that lot is a hard one, he has no choice but manly endurance; this is his arete.¹⁰

But man's excellence is not only in resisting evil but also in achieving the good, and in this it is dike that shows him the way. For dike is the way of things for social classes as well as for nature. It is the customary as well as the just way, and custom may even be contrary to justice, as Penelope acknowledges when she says that Odysseus "never did nor said anything unfair among the people, though that is the dike (the usual way) of god-like kings."¹¹ But as the gods, the divine counterpart to the Homeric patriarchal aristocracy, would not be gods if they did not generally support justice, so among mortals the dike of justice and custom merge in a code of aristocratic behavior--a code of honor and excellence. Homeric heroes strive to achieve what is expected of their class and of them. Men will to excel, and the gods set their will in motion.¹²

It is this cosmos of dike and Moira, this divine pattern of human society, that comprises the reality of Homer from which his heroes draw their power. The consciousness that nature, gods, and men were governed by the same "fundamental laws of Being"¹³ underlay the drive to achieve by word and deed a kingly authority among men. If power, as we believe, is effective belief eventuating in what one is and what he does,¹⁴ it is clear that the power of an

Ajax or an Achilles rests upon the reality of a cosmic order and an Olympian way.

Though Homer had set his massive sandal upon the stone of reality, the imprint was faint. Not until Solon and the nature philosophers would it be possible to demonstrate, as Jaeger says, "the existence of an immanent order in the course of nature and human life and with it...an essential norm in reality."¹⁵ Searching for an absolute, a principle of justice that would undergird the natural and the moral law, they went back to Homer--to dike and Moirā, but with fresh insights into the nature of things and society. In Anaximander's world of becoming and passing-away, dike (a kind of lex talionis) governed the phenomena of nature; in Solon's city-state Eunomia (i.e., dike) set a cosmic pattern for the new social order. And behind both worlds was an all-embracing equilibrium--the eternal retribution which Anaximander called the "justice" of Being (dike), the balance (Moirā) that Solon set up between extremes of power and lowliness.

The exploration of reality by these men is a fact of incalculable significance: in the formulation of natural and social law they took the first conscious steps toward the liberation of intellect and spirit, toward the release of power in mind and will. The horizons that Anaximander glimpsed were charted by Xenophanes, whose vision of intellectual truth as the guide to excellence (arete) leads to Parmenides and ultimately to Plato. For Parmenides' view of reality--a universe governed by necessity--set free a unique and awful power, the power of the "man who knows," the sweeping conviction of an initiate called to watch the mysteries of truth.¹⁶ Implicit in the recognition of Being is the realization that nature, once understood, can be mastered and controlled--a momentous leap from the passive acceptance of an animistic universe, natural forces that like human beings must be threatened or cajoled with prayer and ritual. Whether scientific reality were to be found in Anaximander's coming-to-be and passing-away or in Parmenides' immovable Being, or in Pythagoras' position that nothing is real but relations or in Democritus' belief that matter alone is real, the discovery of natural law and the use of rational symbols unleashed a power of intellectual control that would not be fully felt until the day of nuclear laboratories.

But the liberation of intellect had its parallel in the release of spirit. The great new fact in the days of Anaximander and Solon was the emergent city-state. Anaximander projected its dike (its law of retribution) into a cosmic philosophy; Solon, drawing upon Hesiod's dike as the savior of society, found justice (Eunomia) in-

herent in the life of the polis as the inner law of harmony. From this time on life would be meaningless outside the polis; within its organic structure the potentialities of the human spirit would develop to a climax in the ideal of Pericles.

The concepts of dike and Moirai had already revealed the throne of reality as the source of far-reaching powers of mind and spirit, but Heraclitus, paying obeisance once more to dike, was to find yet another scepter--the power within the depths of the soul. Probing beneath Anaximander's physical law of retribution to an over-all unity (dike) in the apparent conflict of opposites, he found in the revelation of the logos the reality and power in man's ethos, his inward being. That the inner power of the soul drew directly from the knowledge of Being was a discovery of penetrating force, and the Greeks never lost sight of it: it reappears in the searching psychology of Sophocles and Plato.

Aeschylus learned much from Solon: for him, too, divine justice (dike) operating within the organic framework of the polis is a revelation of ultimate Being. If dike and the Moirai sometimes appear as ancient feudalistic powers wreaking vengeance on Troy and Agamemnon's house,¹⁷ dike is also summed up in the divinity of Zeus, the just and rational ruler of the cosmos, and Moirai is the moral law which Zeus himself must come to understand and in harmony with which he must govern. Aeschylus, like Solon, wielded from this throne of reality the scepter by which man realized his highest arete: as Jaeger well says, "state and spirit now coalesced, and became a perfect unity... a political cosmos conceived and realized through the highest effort of all their [the people's/] powers."¹⁸ But Aeschylus went further: "from the heart of a cosmos that is close-knit and sensitive in every part," as Greene puts it,¹⁹ sprang wisdom through suffering--a wisdom that could lead the human spirit at the moment of its greatest suffering to its highest arete--the attainment of a more heroic humanity. And this, despite tremendous differences in historical orientation and theology, is the scepter Aeschylus passed on to Sophocles.

Many have felt that for Sophocles preeminently the gods are real, that he above all others is "Defender of the Faith." More recently Cedric Whitman has urged that "Sophocles ceased to look for justice from Zeus, the gods, or the inanimate world in general. He found it in man's own soul." Sophocles turned, he adds, "from theology to morality, from transcendent to immanent divinity.... His emphasis is an inward one, centered wholly upon the individual, who has in him the divinity to create divinity."²⁰ We remember that Heraclitus had said that ethos was

man's god, and long before this Homer had suggested the thought in the character of Achilles. But the tradition that ethos is divinity had rested upon faith in a cosmic reality of which man was an integral part. Has Sophocles simply adopted the canon of Protagoras that man is the measure of all things, and are the gods merely "symbolic coefficients of the human sphere?"²¹ Whitman replies: "Only so can man really be the measure of all things, if the divine idea is in himself."²² Reality, as in the character of Antigone, is "an organic constellation of inner standards."²³ Dike, physis, Moirai--all these are contained in man himself, the ultimate "repository of ideas of justice and morality."²⁴ Man himself is a cosmos, and his arete is divine, since divine laws operate only through heroic souls. If the hero's law (as in the case of Oedipus) is his own arete, he has within him not only the power to endure like Philoctetes and Electra, but to attain to the "larger transcendent idea of the divine and eternal, which ratifies and seals the striving divinity of the human, or at least of the heroic sphere."²⁵ It is the power to attain divinity through the inner core of man's Being.

The idea that reality was discoverable in the individual himself had extraordinary proliferations in the great age of Athens. It can be traced in the individualism of the Sophists, in the psychology of Euripides, in the mystery religions, in Socrates' view that the soul is the source of life's highest values,²⁶ and in Plato's search for what Jaeger calls the divine center in man. But it is the purpose of this paper to suggest the causal relationship of reality and power and to offer primary illustrations of this relationship rather than to follow its ramifications. But there is one facet which we have not yet touched upon, namely, the intuitional awareness of reality.

Intuition, according to Bergson, "gives that which is essential and unique in the object"; it "discloses the inner nature of things."²⁷ For the devotees of the mystery religions there were immediately felt qualities of experience; their world was known not through speculative logic or rational patterns of relationship but through subjective feeling and image--in a word, through depth symbols. The credo of the mysteries was: I feel, therefore I am.

There is no better revelation in Greek literature of this approach to reality than the Bacchae of Euripides. Beside the reality of reason stands Dionysus, symbol of religious ecstasy. As Greene says, "The religion of Dionysus corresponds to a fact in human nature no less ineluctable than the existence of certain elemental forces."²⁸ In one supreme moment the worshipper, releasing the well-spring of his nature, becomes one with God; in a moment

of ecstasy he experiences "joy in nature, natural purity, happiness, beauty."²⁹ It is the power of heightened consciousness combined with utter freedom.

In the long reaches of Greek thought there had been a gradual shift in the quest for reality and power, a shift from the philosophical reality of the universe to the essence of the social organism, and finally to the core of man's Being. The astonishing fact is that in all this the insights of previous generations were not lost but either flourished vigorously in the new age or were incorporated in fresh approaches. By the beginning of the fourth century the idea of reality had become enormously complex--a pregnant symbol containing nature and soul, reason and emotion, the state and the individual. It remained only for some penetrating mind, steeped in the traditions of Greek culture, to focus these elements in an architectonic pattern--in brief, to write a Republic.

A word more. However compelling the revelation of reality may be in a given era, its potential power may lie dormant unless the historical milieu in which it emerges is favorable to its exploitation. It was fortunate that Athens developed in an economy of scarcity: had she flourished in an economy of abundance, the idea that matter alone is real might have usurped all other realities. Thucydides demonstrates this thesis in the Melian Dialogue, in which the Athenians, raised to a brief pinnacle by the tribute of the Delian Confederacy and the possession of a magnificent navy, asserted the power--the right of the stronger--which is the child of material reality. If her political and military preeminence had persisted, we might now be concerning ourselves with an Athenian way of life which was not that of Hesiod's goddess Dike, but of his brother Perses, not that of Socrates, but of Thrasymachus.

But as it turned out, from the thrones of reality disclosed in Greek thought--realities of Being and Process, Matter and Mind, Soul and Intuition--have sprung human potentialities unmatched till Christianity.

NOTES

1. Abram Kardiner et al., The Psychological Frontiers of Society (N. Y.:Columbia Univ. Press, 1945), p. 36.
2. R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (N. Y.: New Amer. Libr. of World Lit., Inc. /Mentor Books7; orig. publ. by Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1926), p. 19.

3. In Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950), p. 117.
4. Ibid., p. 86.
5. Ernst Cassirer, An Essay on Man (N. Y. :Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1953 [Anchor Books]; orig. publ. by Yale Univ. Press, 1944), p. 41. The quotation is Cassirer's paraphrase of Uexküll.
6. Ibid., p. 103.
7. William C. Greene, Moirai (Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard Univ. Press, 1944), p. 224. See p. 10: "She [Mother Earth] continues through the cycle of days and months and years, and her way is the way of Dike."
8. Werner Jaeger, Paideia (N. Y. : Oxford Univ. Press, 1945; transl. by Gilbert Highet), Vol. I. p. 69. The interpretation of reality in this paper owes much to Jaeger.
9. Greene, p. 17.
10. Ibid., p. 26.
11. Od. IV, 689 ff. See W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and Their Gods (Boston:Beacon Paperback, 1955), pp. 123-124.
12. See T. R. Glover, The Challenge of the Greek (N. Y. :Macmillan, 1942), p. 196.
13. Jaeger, p. 51. He adds: "It is to this sense of ultimate reality... that the Homeric epic owes its overpowering effect."
14. In general, definitions of power (e. g., Bertrand Russell, Friedrich, Lasswell) stress the exercise of influence, "the production of intended effects!" (Russell). See Lasswell and Kaplan, p. 75.
15. Jaeger, p. 142.
16. Ibid., p. 178.
17. Greene, op. cit., pp. 121-136.
18. Jaeger, pp. 239-240.
19. Greene, p. 109.
20. Cedric Whitman, Sophocles (Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard Univ. Press, 1951), p. 229.
21. Ibid., p. 96.
22. Ibid., p. 99.
23. Ibid., p. 88.
24. Ibid., p. 60.
25. Ibid., p. 150.
26. Jaeger, Vol. II, p. 45.
27. Paraphrased in A. Cornelius Benjamin, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Science (N. Y. :Macmillan, 1937), p. 453.
28. Greene, p. 216.
29. H. D. F. Kitto, Greek Tragedy (N. Y. :Doubleday & Co. [Anchor Books], 1955), p. 401.

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"LA MURALLA": THE STORY OF A PLAY AND A POLEMIC

By Anthony M. Pasquariello, University of Michigan

Shortly before the premiere of "La muralla" in the Teatro Lara, Madrid, October 6, 1954, Joaquín Calvo Sotelo was asked by a reporter: "¿En qué estado de ánimo afrontas el estreno de 'La muralla'?" He answered frankly, "Jamás ninguna comedia me ha hecho sufrir tanto como ésta. Si el éxito hubiera de estar en proporción a ese sufrimiento, no habría por qué sentirse preocupado. Pero ya sabemos que ninguna relación guarda una cosa con otra."¹

The opening performance of "La muralla" marked the culmination of more than two years of labor. The handling of its moral and religious theme had posed many problems for Calvo Sotelo. What had caused him constant concern was the logical development of a sick man's struggle to save his soul by returning all of his fraudulently gained wealth to the rightful owner. The conflict had to be dramatically convincing and the result theologically sound. There were countless revisions. The definitive script of the final scene was decided upon just thirty hours before the estreno.² Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the author felt uneasy. The opening night audience put an end to his anxiety with twenty-five curtain calls and a standing ovation. The joy of his decisive triumph was short-lived, however, because soon after the estreno Calvo Sotelo was faced with a charge of plagiarism which assailed his integrity as an author. The charge gave rise to a polemic hotly debated in the capital and echoed in the provinces.

Was "La muralla" a plagiarism of "La confesión," a one-act drama written by Joaquín Dicenta in 1908? The question was raised by Aurora Dicenta, daughter of the deceased playwright, who drew attention to the identity of theme and other similarities. Newspapers and magazines aired the controversy. Completely unprecedented was the decision on this issue forced upon the Sociedad de Autores. As late as April 18, 1955, the newspaper Pueblo tried to bring the press comment to a graceful close with an article entitled "'La confesión' a 'La muralla' de la polémica a la querrela." The article contained a letter to the press by Calvo Sotelo in which he enclosed a copy of the decision announced by the special committee set up by the Sociedad de Autores to study the question. Both documents are of sufficient interest to reproduce here almost in their entirety.

Calvo Sotelo summed up his defense by saying:

La anécdota que de pretexto a los cuatro cuadros en que se divide "La muralla" guarda cierta similitud con una obra en un acto, que desconozco, de Dicenta, según me hizo saber su hijo Manolo, que se encontraba presente cuando la conté, aún no acabada... Ahora añado: ni la conocía entonces, ni la conozco hoy. Pero no se me crea tan ingenuo como para suponer que yo iba a llamar la atención sobre la existencia de esa obra olvidada de todos si en realidad yo, de cerca o de lejos, me hubiera inspirado en ella.

El tema de la confesión no es original de don Joaquín Dicenta sino del doctor Vital Aza, según declaró el propio Dicenta en la dedicatoria autógrafa a dicho señor --cuya fotocopia poseo de un ejemplar de su obra, hoy en poder del doctor Vital, hijo.

Vale la pena de recordar que, con independencia de que el dictamen que acompaño vaya firmado por el ilustre dramaturgo don Joaquín Dicenta, hijo, hermano de doña Aurora, y que en todo momento ha sido el más caballeroso y generoso defensor de mi limpieza profesional, por lo que le doy públicamente las gracias, su otro hermano, Manuel, lleva representando "La muralla" como protagonista, sin interrupción, desde el 22 de diciembre de 1954, lo cual no haría, ciertamente, si creyese que "La muralla" era un asalto hecho a la memoria literaria de su padre.

The dictamen referred to by Calvo Sotelo was signed by don Nicolás González Ruiz, don Joaquín Dicenta (hijo), el padre Félix García, don Guillermo Fernández Shaw, don Antonio Buero Vallejo, don Víctor Ruiz Iriarte, and the president of the Sociedad de Autores, don Luis Fernández Ardavín. The committee completely exonerated Calvo Sotelo of the charge of plagiarism. Five points were issued:

Primero. Que, examinadas y confrontadas minuciosamente ambas obras, sólo encontramos en ellas algún punto de incidencia puramente casual, en lo que se refiere al tema que las inspiró, y por ello, como es prácticamente inevitable en casos semejantes, en algún matiz de las situaciones por medio de las cuales se desenvuelven.

Segundo. Que ni en los caracteres, ni en la técnica, ni en el diálogo, y mucho menos en el desarrollo

escénico de los mismos, advertimos el menor parecido, salvo la indicación antedicha, siendo en tales respectos la del señor Calvo Sotelo plenamente actual, como lo fué la del señor Dicenta en su día.

Tercero. Que aquellos posibles puntos de coincidencia son, repetimos, puramente casuales, ya que, de haberlos conocido previamente el señor Calvo Sotelo, los hubiera soslayado o desvirtuado con la pericia teatral que tiene ampliamente acreditada en su ya no corta labor dramática.

Cuarto. Que hay centenares de obras en la literatura universal donde se dan temas que guardan una gran semejanza entre sí, pero que al ser tratados de modo muy distinto constituyen una nueva creación, sin que por eso a nadie se le haya ocurrido jamás pensar en plagios ni poner en duda la paternidad de las mismas.

Quinto. Que, por todo ello, consideramos y declaramos, conforme al más riguroso y estrecho dictado de nuestra conciencia, que la obra titulada "La muralla" es absoluta y exclusivamente original de don Joaquín Calvo Sotelo.

The issue was only formally closed, however. Twelve days after the Pueblo article, the editors of a popular weekly, Crítica, sensing the commercial advantage of publishing the text of "La confesión," issued the first installment of the play, highlighted by large photos of doña Aurora and Calvo Sotelo.³ Nothing more, not a word on the question of plagiarism. Crítica was not interested in the controversy but in capitalizing on the public's interest in "La confesión." By May 14, the date of the last installment, more people had read Dicenta's play in three weeks than in all of the forty-seven years since it was first staged.

More than a year after the estreno of "La muralla," the polemic was still a lively topic of conversation at tertulias. The following vicious copla which spread quickly soon after Calvo Sotelo's election to the Royal Spanish Academy in December, 1955, is offered as evidence that the public would not let the controversy die:

Tu nombre es el de tu hermano;
El sillón es de Foxá;
"La muralla" de Dicenta,
y tuya la vanidad.

A few words of explanation are in order. The first line refers to his brother, José Calvo Sotelo, political martyr assassinated by the Republicans during the Civil War. Line 2 refers to the fact that the seat occupied by him in the Academy should have been awarded to the Conde de Foxá. The rest is self-explanatory. My interest in mentioning the copla is strictly academic. I am not now, nor have I ever been personally antagonistic toward Joaquín Calvo Sotelo.

Public interest in the polemic would not have been sustained for so long, if only the theme were involved. A theme is not the exclusive property of one author, especially a theme of such compelling and timely interest in Spain today. In fact, Echegaray used basically the same subject thirty-one years before "La confesión" in his "O locura o santidad." Other striking similarities in characters, situation and motivation strengthened doña Aurora's position sufficiently to keep the issue debatable. For example, is it a mere coincidence that the protagonists of both plays are originally unbelievers, Catholics in name only, not preoccupied with thoughts of salvation? Is it also a coincidence that the very same malady, a heart attack, precipitates their determination to save their souls by restoring their ill-gained fortunes to the rightful owners? And is it still another coincidence that the wife, the daughter, the business manager of each protagonist, and also a parish priest, play significant roles in both plays? This series of coincidences can be interpreted in favor of Aurora Dicenta's allegation, but they can also serve to exonerate Calvo Sotelo of the charge, if we believe point three stated by the special committee. It all depends on the point of view. There can be no positive proof.

In defense of Calvo Sotelo, it must be noted that the similarities do not extend to the basic framework of the two plays despite the fact that they are essentially dramatic discussions largely devoid of overt action. "La confesión" is approximately the length of the first scene of "La muralla." The action is compressed within a half hour of the lives of the participants. All is expertly tailored, compact. Except for the final gasp of the protagonist, the writing adds up to a little masterpiece of low-keyed eloquence. Only the wife and the daughter learn of the tormented man's sinful past, and then only in the final scene. While the dying man begs his wife to call a confessor, she steps into the adjoining room and tells the priest, "No hay manera de convencerle. La presencia de usted es inútil." All of Dicenta's scathing mockery of Sunday Catholics is contained in this surprising anti-climax.

On the other hand, "La muralla" is a full length drama in two acts and four scenes. The manner in which the protagonist

strives to save his soul is debated throughout the entire play. Calvo Sotelo makes Jorge Hontanar a quixotic hero thwarted at every turn by a falsely pious, materialistic circle of family and friends. Everyone learns the secret: wife, daughter, mother-in-law, business manager, parish priest, and even the daughter's future father-in-law, who appears in the final scene to add his arguments to the debate. The result is a great deal of repetition. There are times when you may find yourself wishing that this animated debate were a bit less loquacious. Some of the sheer strength is diffused in sheer length. Besides Jorge, one character stands out--the mother-in-law--an entirely original creation who does not figure in "La confesión." The most humorous and also the most vicious lines are hers. It is she who organizes and leads the forces against Jorge, threatening to ally herself with the devil, if necessary, to dissuade Jorge from his senseless intention.

In contrast to "La confesión," the eloquence of "La muralla" is largely in a high key, especially the final act. Reason in the first act gives way to melodrama in the second, reminiscent of the plays of Echegaray. At the height of the debate, Jorge shrieks in his defense, "Yo soy un español que se ha convertido al catolicismo." When the mother-in-law threatens, "Te va a costar cara la salvación de tu alma," Jorge, beating his chest furiously, retorts, "Al precio que sea he de comprarla. Hace un mes, quince días solamente, me hubiera reído de hablar así. Hoy, no. Hoy es un grito que me sale de muy dentro, de muy dentro." In the closing scene, in despair before the well-organized ring of adversaries, Jorge cries out:

¿Qué fácil me fué el mal, y el bien, qué cuesta arriba!... Es verdad. Yo pequé un día, yo cometí una vileza terrible; pero me arrepentí y quise reparar el daño que había hecho. Entonces se formó delante de mí, para impedirme hacer el bien, una muralla tremenda. Pero aunque esta muralla fuese más fuerte aún, la vencería. ¿Y sabéis por qué? Porque Dios está conmigo, y a su lado, la victoria está segura.

Moments later he falls to the floor and dies in the arms of his wife. Nothing could be more melodramatic; it is a sharp contrast to the closing scene of "La confesión."

Notwithstanding the sure-fire appeal this theme has for the Spanish people, it is very doubtful that "La muralla" would have scored the greatest box-office triumph in the history of the Spanish

theatre without the polemic to stir interest. The controversy focused attention on "La muralla" in Spain and in other countries. The more than 850 performances broke all records in Madrid. In all of Spain there have been more than 2,500 performances. It has also been staged in Buenos Aires, Chile, Portugal, Germany, the Philippines, Holland, Brazil, Italy, and very recently in Cuba. There have been at least thirteen printings of the text. No other Spanish play has ever sold so well or been so widely read within a year of its opening performance.

While the polemic caused some personal scars which only time will heal, it did not affect adversely Calvo Sotelo's stature as a writer. Otherwise, he would not have been honored with membership in the Spanish Academy. The triumph of "La muralla" will plague him in other ways, however. Every new play of his will be compared to "La muralla." For at least a few years, every estreno will be clouded by the unpleasant memory of the polemic. This is clearly evident in the first paragraph of his autocrítica of "La ciudad sin Dios," his most recent play, which opened on January 11, 1957:

Si bien no mi primer estreno stricto sensu, después de "La muralla," puesto que "Historia de un resentido" subió a la escena barcelonesa en los comienzos de 1956, "La Ciudad sin Dios" es, eso sí, el primero en Madrid desde entonces. Esta circunstancia hará comprender la preocupación de una parte y la humildad, de otra, con que hoy solicitaré del auditorio del Marfa Guerrero, un veredicto absolutorio. Conozco, por propia y dolorosa experiencia, cuáles son los riesgos y peligros anejos a un estreno: bastan para empavorecer el ánimo más templado. Yo siento el mfo, en estas horas, especialmente inquieto, y sólo me descansa el saberme con la conciencia en paz.⁴

"La ciudad sin Dios" closed after 104 performances, a moderate success by Madrid standards but, for Calvo Sotelo, a failure. His victory with "La muralla" will be secure only when he recaptures the Madrid audience in large numbers, without benefit of a polemic. This is the price Calvo Sotelo must pay for the debatable uncertainties which encompassed the greatest box-office triumph in Spain's history.

NOTES

1. Informaciones, 6 de octubre, 1955, 7.
2. For a complete account of Calvo Sotelo's problems see the pro-

logue to La muralla, Sociedad de Autores de España, Madrid, 1955.

3. "La confesión de Joaquín Dicenta," Crítica, V, 30 de abril, 6-7; 7 de mayo, 6-7; 14 de mayo, 8-9.
4. ABC, 11 de enero, 1957, 34.

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ANATOLE FRANCE, LE MARQUIS DE SADE,
ET COURTILZ DE SANDRAS

By Hobart Ryland, University of Kentucky

Vers 1880, Anatole France découvrit une collection de vingt-six contes inédits du Marquis de Sade. Il en choisit un, Dorci, ou la bizarrerie du sort, qu'il publia l'année suivante avec une notice sur l'auteur.

En parcourant ces vingt-six contes, il semble que l'auteur de l'Ile des Pingouins ait lu aussi une autre histoire, "Le Président mystifié" et qu'il en ait tiré l'idée maîtresse de son "Joyeux Buffal-maco" qu'il publia pour la première fois dans L'Echo de Paris en 1893.

Dans "Le Président mystifié" le Marquis de Sade cherche à se venger des présidents qui avaient la fâcheuse habitude de l'envoyer souvent en prison. Il nous amuse ici avec des tours joués à un magistrat un peu naïf et innocent, afin d'empêcher la consommation de son mariage avec une fort belle jeune femme.

Entre autres, on enivra le vieillard avant l'heure du coucher. Une fois au lit, le Président attendit avec impatience l'arrivée de sa femme qui s'attardait à sa toilette. Mais comme il finit par s'endormir profondément, elle en profita pour quitter silencieusement la chambre conjugale et aller passer la nuit avec son amant. Ce fut alors que les amis de la jeune mariée préparèrent la surprise qu'ils allaient faire au mari.

"Les lumières s'éteignirent dans l'appartement nuptial dont le parquet se garnit à l'instant de matelas, et au signal donné, la portion du lit occupé par notre robin se sépare du reste, et par moyen de quelques poulies s'enlève à vingt pieds de terre, sans que l'état soporifique dans lequel se trouve notre législateur lui permette de s'apercevoir de rien. Cependant, vers les trois heures du matin, réveillé par un peu de plénitude dans la vessie, se souvenant qu'il a vu près de lui une table contenant le vase nécessaire à le soulager, il tâte, étonné d'abord de ne trouver que du vide autour de lui, il s'avance; mais le lit qui n'est tenu que par des cordes, se conforme au mouvement de celui qui penche et finit par y céder tellement que faisant la bascule entière, il vomit au milieu de la chambre le

poids dont il est surchargé; le président tombe sur les matelas préparés et sa surprise est si grande qu'il se met à hurler comme un veau qu'on mène à la boucherie."¹

Mais personne ne répondit à ses appels et étant assez bien installé, il passa le reste de la nuit sur le plancher. Aussitôt endormi, on descendit la partie du lit du plafond et l'on la joignit à l'autre moitié.

Le reste du conte montre comment les amis de la mariée réussirent à empêcher l'union de ces deux personnes si mal assorties. Ils maltraitèrent tellement le président, qu'à la fin il consentit à une annulation du mariage et la jeune femme put épouser l'homme qu'elle aimait.

"Le Joyeux Buffalmaco" d'Anatole France est l'histoire d'un peintre et mosaïste Andrea Tafi et de son apprenti Buffalmaco. Celui-ci en voulait à son maître parce qu'il le réveillait trop tôt tous les matins et le faisait travailler trop dur. Tous les soirs avant de s'endormir Maître Tafi récitait la prière suivante: "Sainte Vierge, Mère de Dieu, qui par vos mérites avez été tirée toute vive au ciel, tendez-moi votre main pleine de grâces, afin de me hausser jusqu'au Saint Paradis où vous êtes assise dans une chaise d'or."²

Après avoir entendu souvent cette prière, Buffalmaco eut une idée. Il dit aux autres apprentis de chercher une bonne corde et une poulie et qu'ils allaient s'amuser. Quand tout fut en place ce soir-là et que Maître Tafi eut fait à la Sainte Vierge sa prière habituelle, les apprentis se mirent à l'oeuvre.

"Ils saisirent le chanvre qui pendait de la poulie le long de la cloison, et le bonhomme avait à peine fini sa prière que, sur un signe de Buffalmaco, ils tirèrent la corde si vigoureusement que le lit qui était attaché commença de s'élever.

Maître Andrea, se sentant hissé sans voir par quel moyen, se mit dans la tête que c'était la sainte Vierge qui exauçait son vœu et l'attirait au ciel. Il eut grand'peur et se mit à crier d'une voix tremblante:

--Arrêtez, arrêtez, Madame! Je n'ai pas demandé que ce fût tout de suite.

Et comme, par l'effet de la corde qui glissait sur la poulie, le lit montait encore, le vieillard se mit à supplier la Vierge Marie très lamentablement.

--Bonne dame, ne tirez point ainsi! Holà! Lâchez, lâchez, vous dis-je!

.

Voyant qu'il quittait tout de bon le plancher de la chambre, sa frayeur s'accrut, et s'adressant à Jésus, il le supplia de faire entendre raison à sa sainte Mère. Il n'était que temps, disait-il, qu'elle renonçât à cette malencontreuse assumption. Pécheur, fils de pécheur qu'il était, il ne pouvait monter au ciel avant d'avoir parfait le fleuve Jourdain, ses flots et ses poissons, et le reste de l'histoire de Notre-Seigneur. Cependant le ciel touchait presque aux poutres de la charpente. Et le Tafi criait:

-Jésus, si vous laissez faire votre sainte Mère un moment de plus, le toit de cette maison, qui m'a coûté fort cher, sera crevé sûrement. Car je vois bien que je vais passer au travers. Arrêtez, arrêtez! J'entends craquer les tuiles.

Buffalmaco s'aperçut qu'à ce moment la voix du maître s'étranglait tout à fait dans sa gorge. Il ordonna à ses compagnons de lâcher la corde, ce qu'ils firent et fut cause que le lit précipité du haut en bas de la chambre, s'abîma sur le plancher à grand fracas, les pieds rompus, les ais disjoints; du coup les colonnes s'écroulèrent et le ciel, avec les courtines et les rideaux, s'abattit sur maître Andrea qui, pensant étouffer, hurlait comme un diable. Et, l'âme étonnée d'un si rude choc, il doutait s'il était retombé dans sa chambre ou précipité dans l'enfer. "3

Il est évident que l'histoire d'Anatole France est mieux développée que celle du Marquis de Sade et qu'elle ne lui emprunte que l'idée du lit qui monte. Les deux contes sont amusants, mais pour une raison différente. Si Anatole France se souvenait du conte "Le Président mystifié" quand il écrivit "Le Joyeux Buffalmaco" il en changea les données à un tel degré qu'il ne resta presque rien de l'idée première.

Le Marquis de Sade n'était pas le premier à employer le truc du lit qui monte. Gatien de Courtilz de Sandras le fit déjà en 1709. Dans ses Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan (où A. Dumas prit le sujet des Trois Mousquetaires) il s'en trouve un bel exemple.

Ici nous voyons un président qui possédait, à quatre lieues de Paris, une belle maison de campagne où il emmenait ses maîtresses. Un gentilhomme vint lui faire visite un jour; il amenait avec lui une dame qu'il disait sa cousine germaine, et qui, mariée en Bretagne, était venue à Paris soutenir un procès devant le parlement.

"Le Président n'était pas homme à se scandaliser qu'un de ses amis choisit sa maison pour y abriter ses plaisirs; néanmoins il se piqua, car cet homme et cette femme jouaient la comédie de ne pas dépasser les bornes qu'une honnête amitié place entre homme et femme. Il résolut d'avoir le coeur net sur ce point, et de leur bien prouver qu'il n'était pas leur dupe. Le cavalier fut logé en une chambre, et la dame en une autre; mais dans celle-ci le lit était dressé au milieu de la pièce comme le sont les lits à l'ange, très bas, sans quenouilles et sans baldaquin.

Quand on se fut bien réjoui au souper, chacun s'en fut coucher. Le Président se releva au milieu de la nuit, et, comme il avait pensé, le cavalier avait rejoint la dame dans son lit, et tous deux étaient profondément endormis. . . Peut-être le Président, pour être assuré de la réussite du tour qu'il leur intentait jouer, avait-il mêlé quelque drogue à leur vin.

Chaque chose était bien disposé à l'avance: on avait fixé quatre bonnes poulies aux solives du plancher, avec des cordes munies de crampons. Au moyen de ces crampons, on accrocha les quatre coins du lit qui fut hissé tout doucement à quinze pieds en l'air, car la pièce était très haute.

Le Président attendait qu'il fût midi avant de se présenter dans la chambre, où les amoureux, éveillé depuis quelque temps, n'osaient descendre de peur de se briser bras ou jambes. Il jouit à son aise de leur confusion, puis le lit fut ramené sur le sol.

Le cavalier et sa maîtresse abrégèrent leur séjour, car le Président ne se put tenir de goguenarder, tant qu'ils furent en son logis. "4

Pendant ses années en prison, Le Marquis de Sade passait son temps à lire tous les livres que sa femme pouvait lui trouver. Il est probable qu'il ait lu les Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan en vogue pendant tout le dix-huitième siècle. S'il a trouvé l'idée du lit à poulies dans ce livre, il est alors possible qu'il lui ait aussi emprunté l'idée de faire appliquer à l'épaule d'une de ses héroïnes (Justine) le fer ardent dont on marquait alors les voleurs. (Dumas employa aussi cette idée dans ses Trois Mousquetaires.)

L'originalité d'A. France et du Marquis de Sade est incontestable. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'avaient besoin ou le désir d'emprunter quelque idée que ce soit à d'autres écrivains; il est vraisemblable que la

machination du lit ne fut dans leur oeuvre qu'une réminiscence dont ils ne se doutèrent peut-être jamais.

NOTES

1. D. A. F. Sade, Historiettes, Contes et Fabliaux (Paris: Société du Roman Philosophique, 1926).
2. A. France, Le Puits de Sainte-Claire (Paris: Calmann et Lévy, 1895).
3. Ibid.
4. Gatién Courtilz de Sandras, Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan (Paris, 1709).

THE POETRY OF TRISTAN L'HERMITE

By Philip A. Wadsworth, University of Illinois

The fascination of literary history is that it never stands still. Each generation brings new concepts and values to the study of our artistic heritage. In the case of French literature of the early seventeenth century, which was once considered the private domain of Malherbe, Corneille, and Pascal, modern criticism has opened the gates to a host of other authors. This preclassical period, now often called baroque, was an era of violence and disorder, as well as of preciousness and gallantry. Literary activity was not yet organized or centralized, as it was to be under the reign of Louis XIV, but it did not lack vigor and productivity. Along with Malherbe and Corneille there flourished many more or less gifted novelists, a number of excellent dramatists, and a multitude of interesting poets. Today we are beginning to recognize the merits, and also the faults, to be sure, of such poets as Théophile de Viau, Scarron, Saint-Amant, Voiture, Sarasin, and Tristan l'Hermite. Some of them were careless of the rules and proprieties. Boileau condemned many of them to oblivion at the same time that he sanctified Malherbe. But tastes have changed. Nowadays we are inclined to find Malherbe rather arid, despite the perfection of his lines, and to take greater pleasure in reading the freer, more imaginative verse of Saint-Amant or Théophile.

In this galaxy of neglected writers Tristan l'Hermite is one of the brightest stars. In the 1630's and 1640's he was known not only as a gifted lyric poet but also as one of the most versatile men of letters then writing for the Parisian public. The author of eight plays, he held a high rank among the contemporaries and competitors of Corneille. One of his tragedies, "La Mariane" (1636), rivaled "Le Cid" in its immediate success and its continued popularity. In the realm of the novel Tristan is remembered for Le Page disgracié (1643), a charming work, partly picaresque and partly autobiographical, which stands out as one of the landmarks in the development of French realistic fiction.

The personality of Tristan can be glimpsed not only in many of his poems but also in Le Page disgracié, which tells more or less faithfully the story of his boyhood and youth. Born in 1601 in a noble provincial family, he became a page boy at the court of Henri IV. He grew up as a proud, mischievous lad, often getting into trouble and fights. A very precocious child, he boasted of knowing 10,000 lines of poetry by heart when he was eleven or twelve years old. For some years he lived by his wits, occasionally finding employment as a tutor or secretary, and traveled widely in France and other countries. Like many

others of his day he was superstitious and believed in horoscopes and alchemy. As a young man he was irresistibly drawn to women and to gambling, and his adventures were usually followed by fits of remorse. Around 1621 he found a permanent post on the staff of Louis XIII's scheming brother, Gaston d'Orléans. He served Gaston very loyally for more than twenty years, in spite of his master's notorious stinginess. Finally Tristan broke away and sought other protectors. In his last years he was still poor and proud, still highly esteemed by other authors--who elected him to the Academy in 1649--often bitter at the life he had to lead, usually plagued by sickness, and more and more concerned with religion. He died in 1655.

In the years from 1633 to 1648, he published five volumes of lyric verse, the most substantial body of poetry left by any writer of the early seventeenth century. The early editions of his works are exceedingly scarce and some have never been republished. However, a study of his literary production reveals him as one of the greatest lyric geniuses of seventeenth century France.

His first compositions date from the 1620's, but it was not until 1633 that he gathered some of them together and brought out his first book. It bore the title Les Plaintes d'Acante et autres oeuvres and appeared first in Brussels, the headquarters of Gaston d'Orléans who was then living in exile as a result of his conspiracies against Richelieu and Louis XIII. The principal poem in this collection, "Les Plaintes d'Acante," is a shepherd's lamentation more than 500 lines long. Certain stanzas are quite admirable in their musicality, their intensity of feeling, and their evocation of rustic landscapes, but the work as a whole has a bookish quality which makes it drag. It teems with reminiscences of pastoral literature and with allusions to the Metamorphoses of Ovid. Oddly enough the poem, which seems quite personal and sincere, has nothing to do with Tristan's own love affairs. The research of Mlle Eugénie Droz has shown that it was written to help another nobleman, the Prince de Sedan, in his passionate courtship of a cruel young countess.¹ It is not unusual to find Tristan and other poets of the period hiring out their literary talents to serve some wealthy patron.

The same volume contains about forty other pieces, some of them extremely good, which bear witness to Tristan's versatility and his awareness of different poetic traditions. He was never a confirmed disciple of Malherbe, but his "Consolation à Idalie" shows that he could echo the solemn tones of Malherbe even while borrowing certain themes from Ronsard. "Le promenoir des deux amants," perhaps the best known of Tristan's poems today, reflects the influence of Théophile de Viau's descriptions of secluded natural scenes. This beautiful poem is somewhat marred in its final stanzas by a display of extreme artificiality or

preciousness, a characteristic which often dominates Tristan's love lyrics. Petrarchism, with its sentimental excesses and concetti, left its mark on him, as did the more sensual manner of Marino, whom he greatly admired. One of the sonnets in this collection, "La Belle en deuil," was inspired by the "Bella Vedova" of Marino.² In contrast to the many ingenious expressions of gallantry, one other quality, a taste for the macabre, makes its appearance here. The sonnet "A des cimetières" suggests the scenes of horror which occur so often in the poetry of Saint-Amant. The book as a whole reveals Tristan as an accomplished poet if not a mature one, as a man of wide reading and broad tastes, and as a sensitive artist very much in tune with the trends of his times.

Nearly all the poems of Les Plaintes d'Acante et autres oeuvres were republished five years later, in 1638, in a volume called Les Amours, together with about a hundred additional pieces, some of them new, others probably salvaged from his earliest manuscripts. The chronology of his work would be extremely difficult to establish. With Les Amours Tristan distinguished himself as one of France's most gifted love poets. He was frequently and deeply in love. Sometimes, in the manner of the salons, but always with real emotion, he is the helpless suitor who adores a cold and unapproachable beauty, and he declares his admiration in exaggerated, precious terms. Many of these pieces, usually sonnets, are built upon some paradox in which the poet proves that he is the happiest man in the world and at the same time the most miserable. This sort of contradiction is revealed in such titles as "Les Remèdes inutiles," "Le Dépit salutaire," "La Pitié cruelle," "L'Enchantement rompu." But there are other less artificial poems in which he paints a realistic background or sketches a dramatic situation to accompany his expression of love. Very often, too, he speaks of real kisses and of passionate physical love.

Tristan never wrote formal satires, but he sometimes indulged a satiric vein and exploded in vengeful, grotesque descriptions of people whom he detested. Two such characters, in Les Amours, are "Le Portier inexorable" and "La Gouvernante importune," who stood on guard over the woman Tristan loved and prevented him from visiting her. The "gouvernante" is portrayed in such epithets as "vieux singe au visage froncé" and "squelette couvert de poussière." Another kind of satire, more personal and philosophic, is to be seen in the sonnet, "Misère de l'homme du monde." Here Tristan expresses his disillusionment with the life of ambitious courtiers; their intrigues, their disappointments in love, then their unhappy old age. The sonnet ends with these lines:

Cabaler dans la cour, puis, devenu grison,
Se retirant du bruit, attendre en sa maison

Ce qu'ont nos derniers ans de maux inévitables;

C'est l'heureux sort de l'homme. O misérable sort!
Tous ces attachements sont-ils considérables,
Pour aimer tant la vie, et craindre tant la mort?

These lines, with their striking contrasts and epigrammatic phrasing, exhibit a technique to be found in nearly all of Tristan's sonnets.

Probably the most famous piece in Les Amours, the "Plainte à la belle banquière," echoes the poet's proud and melancholic temperament. Philis has rejected his love because she is rich and he is poor. He chides her, rather gently and affectionately, and points out that he possesses other treasures more satisfying than money:

Le bien de sentir des fleurs
De qui l'âme et les couleurs
Charment mes esprits malades,
Et l'eau qui d'un haut rocher
Se va jetant par cascades,
Sont mon trésor le plus cher.

Le doux concert des oiseaux,
Le mouvant cristal des eaux,
Un bois, des prés agréables,
Echo qui se plaint d'Amour,
Sont des matières capables
De m'arrêter tout un jour.

His love for everything beautiful, whether in women or in nature, is Tristan's most constant source of inspiration.

His next volume of verse, La Lyre, appeared three years later, in 1641. The title arises from a very long poem, "L'Orphée," which recounts the story of Orpheus and Eurydice. "L'Orphée," dedicated to a musician at the royal court, is a mythological love story somewhat similar in conception to the "Adonis" of La Fontaine but treated with a florid luxuriance of descriptive detail which renders it quite baroque. For example, the poet enumerates thirty species of trees which are touched by the music of Orpheus, then some twenty types of birds, then a score of different animals. In spite of these exaggerated effects "L'Orphée" rises in places to a high pitch of eloquence and pathos, notably in the farewell speech of Eurydice to her lover.

La Lyre also contains about sixty shorter poems: compliments, consolations, madrigals, sonnets, stances, and odes. Some lines for

Mlle de Rambouillet suggest Tristan's occasional contact with the salons of the period, as does his sonnet on the theme of "la belle matineuse," a theme exploited also by Malleville and Voiture, perhaps in some sort of contest of wits. Two poems deserve special mention. One is a composition dating from the 1620's, his ode addressed to M. de Chaudebonne, in which he asks his friend to intercede for him to help him find a little security, a little peace. The ode is remarkable for its note of melancholy and sincerity, and also for its many reminiscences of Horace as the poet describes the rustic activities in which he has engaged at his family estate in the provinces. Finally, the series of stances entitled "Les Misères humaines" offers a bitter meditation on the unhappiness and futility of human life. In the final strophes Tristan stresses the need for preparing one's soul to meet death and ends on a religious note which hints at a new orientation of his thought.

Thus it is not altogether surprising that he published, in 1646, a manual of piety entitled L'Office de la Sainte Vierge. This book, partly in prose and partly in verse, contains prayers, meditations, and psalms for various saints' days and church ceremonies, and especially for the worship of the Virgin. Without casting any doubt on Tristan's religious convictions one can see that the book has the air of a commercial venture. It was intended to provide devotional exercises for the reading public and was not, strictly speaking, a vehicle in which the poet could give full and personal expression to his own feelings. He speaks in the first person and as a repentant sinner, but the sins are those of all mankind rather than specifically his own. Any pious reader could accept what he says and apply it to himself. Even so, some of Tristan's religious verse is very striking because of its tone of humility and remorse, notably several of his prayers ("A la Sainte Vierge," "Prière du soir") and his paraphrases of certain psalms ("Miserere," "De profundis").

In the poet's next and final collection of poems, Les Vers héroïques (1648), he shows only a few signs of any religious preoccupation. However, his style is generally rather serious and elevated, as the title implies, in spite of numerous light sonnets and epigrams scattered through the volume. Once again, chronology may prove deceptive. One of Tristan's best odes, "La Mer," dates from 1627 and was printed then in a small pamphlet. Here it appears again, drastically revised, for the first time in a book intended for the general public. "La Mer" presents a description, at great length, of the changing aspects of the ocean, by night and by day, in calm and stormy weather. It is a dazzling showpiece, not deeply felt but strikingly original in imagery and in picturesque details. The most "heroic" poem in this collection is the ode to the Maréchal de Schomberg, recounting

the siege of Leucate in 1637, in a series of twelve line stanzas of very lofty eloquence. The author's society verse, in its most graceful form, is represented by "Sujet de la Comédie des fleurs," a sort of playful fairy tale which relates a battle among members of the flower kingdom. His taste for horror reveals itself in "Les Terreurs nocturnes," in which he describes a journey on horseback on a dark and rainy night. His muse serves him best of all, perhaps, in "La Servitude," a meditation on the disappointments of his life and on his hope of faring better under the protection of the Duchesse de Chaulnes, who came to his rescue around 1645. "La Servitude," written in a complex stanza form consisting of lines of six, eight, and twelve syllables, begins with a beautiful invocation to night:

Nuit fraîche, sombre et solitaire,
Sainte depositaire
De tous les grands secrets, ou de guerre ou d'amour,
Nuit mère du repos, et nourrice des veilles
Qui produisent tant de merveilles,
Donne-moi des conseils qui soient dignes du jour.

As a recent critic, Jean Tortel, has pointed out, Tristan had a deep feeling for the silence and serenity of night time, a feeling which sets him apart from other poets.³

One other piece must be quoted. This is the sonnet which occupies the final page of Les Vers héroïques and which the sick and aging poet doubtless intended as a farewell speech:

C'est fait de mes destins; je commence à sentir
Les incommodités que la vieillesse apporte.
Déjà la pâle Mort, pour me faire partir,
D'un pied sec et tremblant vient frapper à ma porte.

Ainsi que le soleil, sur la fin de son cours,
Paraît plutôt tomber que descendre dans l'onde,
Lorsque l'homme a passé les plus beaux de ses jours,
D'une course rapide il passe en l'autre monde.

Il faut éteindre en nous tous frivoles désirs,
Il faut nous détacher des terrestres plaisirs
Où sans discrétion notre appétit nous plonge.

Sortons de ces erreurs par un sage conseil,
Et cessant d'embrasser les images d'un songe,
Pensons à nous coucher pour le dernier sommeil.

This epilogue to his life displays his highest achievements as a poet: his nobility of inspiration, his fine musicianship, his haunting melancholy, his complete sincerity.

In this rapid survey of Tristan's career there has been little space to pause over the qualities which distinguish his poetry. Perhaps the dominant one is his proud, aloof individualism. Although he borrowed occasionally from earlier poets, both French and Italian, he became no one's disciple; he had few contacts with the cliques and literary groups of his age; he did not stoop to servility and intrigue. When not involved in some love affair he would retire to his books or, even better, to a vantage point from which he could observe the beauty of some landscape. His taste for seclusion, his feeling for nature, his failures and disillusionment, imbue much of his poetry with a reflective quality, a combination of deep thought and dark emotion which were not to reappear in French literature until the Romantic period.

But this is not his only accomplishment. He could be playful, or precious, or passionate, or grimly realistic, or vehemently eloquent, or sarcastic, or macabre. Almost always he found the right form, the right melody, for his mood. As a technician he employed, even invented, a multitude of stanza patterns, and he handled them with unusual metrical and musical skill. Because of the purity of his diction he must be considered an important forerunner of French classicism; he helped prepare the way for La Fontaine and Racine. Tristan l'Hermite possessed one of the great lyrical voices of seventeenth century France. In our own century his gifts surely deserve to be recognized and admired.

NOTES

1. Eugénie Droz, Le Manuscrit des Plaintes d'Acante de Tristan l'Hermite, Chez l'Auteur, 1937.
2. Noted by Antoine Adam, Histoire de la littérature française au 17^e siècle (Paris:Domat, 1948----), I, 372.
3. Jean Tortel, Le Préclassicisme français (Paris:Les Cahiers du Sud, 1952), pp. 143-145.

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1956

VOLTAIRE AND LE CATÉCHUMÈNE

By George B. Watts, Davidson College

Although le Catéchumène of 1768, "un des morceaux les plus forts qui aient été faits contre la religion chrétienne,"¹ was included in Voltaire's Nouveaux Mélanges of 1765-75, in the famous "Edition encadrée" of 1775, and in other collections of his works, it has been generally held by literary historians and editors to be the work, not of Voltaire, but of Charles Bordes (1711-1781), academician of Lyons.

Le Catéchumène is a thirty-four page brochure in dialogue form concerning a shipwrecked victim, brought ashore in some unknown land, who questions his rescuers on the Christian religion. He is baffled by the answers he receives, and especially by the explanation of the Trinity and other Christian dogmas.

Soon after the appearance of this "scandalous" work in 1768, there followed several other editions under various titles and places of publication. Two came out the same year, one of which was entitled le Catéchumène, traduit du Chinois (Amsterdam), and the other le Voyageur catéchumène (London). The following year a twenty-eight page edition, l'Américain sensé, par hasard en Europe, et fait Chrétien par complaisance, was printed in Paris, although it bore on its title page a statement that it was from the press of His Holiness in Rome.

The purpose of this study is to tell the story of this work, its attribution to various authors, and the interest it aroused among many a prominent writer and literary historian, and also to bring to light a neglected statement of 1790 by an important publisher and printer of Paris, who, because of his close relationships as friend and legatee of Voltaire, was in a position to speak authoritatively on its authorship and to outline Voltaire's connection with it.

From the day that it first came off the press this daring publication created a sensation among the reading public and contemporary French writers. One of the first to mention it was Baron Grimm, who, in January, 1768, after discussing its contents and style, stated: "Il y a des phrases et des traits que je croirais de M. de Voltaire. La brochure est-elle de M. de Voltaire, n'en est-elle pas? Si l'on me disait oui, je n'en serais pas fort étonné; si l'on me disait non, je demanderais qui pourrait l'avoir faite."²

Likewise the following month Bachaumont believed Voltaire to be its author, for, in the Mémoires secrets, he asserted: "De tous

les scandaleux écrits qui ont paru jusqu'à ce jour aucun ne mériterait plus l'anathème des sages maîtres que celui qu'on vient d'imprimer sous le titre de Catéchumène. L'auteur qui se cache, y rassemble, en 34 pages in-12 d'impression sous une fiction ingénieuse, tout le sel de la plus coupable plaisanterie. . . On ne doute pas que cet ouvrage ne soit de M. de Voltaire. "3

Another contemporary writer who believed the work to be by Voltaire was Charles Collé, who ascribed it to him in his Journal historique, written from 1758 to 1782.⁴ La Harpe, on the other hand, apparently knew whereof he spoke when he stated in his Correspondance littéraire, begun in 1774, that the piece had been printed in Voltaire's works after he had examined and corrected it.⁵ He might well have recalled in this connection an episode of 1768, when it was reported, and later denied, in a Dutch publication that La Harpe and his wife had been refused forever Voltaire's house because he had abused his confidences and had carried off "several precious manuscripts," among which was le Catéchumène.⁶ Voltaire himself referred to this incident as "une petite mièveté" of La Harpe, which had caused him "beaucoup de peine." It was not, he wrote, "si sérieuse," but it was "certaine et avérée."⁷

Voltaire also made many references to le Catéchumène from 1768 on. On March 1, 1768, he wrote d'Argental that "l'auteur. . . du Catéchumène. . . est un plaisant plus goguenard que moi," thus giving the impression that its authorship was a matter of conjecture to him.⁸ On April 4, in a letter to Charles Bordes, he stated that the much discussed writing was said to be the work of Henri-Joseph Dulaurens, but that he believed it to be "audessus de lui," even though "on assure qu'il en est l'auteur." He was vexed that Dulaurens and other hack writers whom Marc-Michel Rey of Amsterdam was then hiring at so much a page were having "l'impudence de passer leurs scandaleuses brochures sous mon nom." He added that he had seen le Catéchumène "annoncé dans trois gazettes, comme étant une de mes productions journalières."⁹ (One might note, in passing, that some writers have declared that Dulaurens had already printed le Catéchumène in his Évangile de la raison in 1762.)¹⁰

A week later Voltaire asserted, in a letter to M. Chardon, that he had not had "la moindre part à la plaisanterie au gros sel intitulée le Catéchumène," and that, although there were in it "des choses assez joliment tournées," he would be vexed at having written it "soit pour le fond, soit pour la forme." In this letter he referred again to Dulaurens and his writings which Rey was distributing while attributing them to him "pour les mieux vendre."¹¹ Furthermore, the following

week, he complained, in a letter to M. Chabanon, that "on ne cesse de m'attribuer les ouvrages du mathurin Dulaurens." ¹²

By the end of the year, however, Voltaire had ceased to link Dulaurens with the disputed brochure, for on December 31 he wrote to d'Alembert that the author of le Catéchumène was the same as of the Lettre au docteur Pansophe, that is, Charles Bordes. Although "on a cru reconnaître mon style," he wrote, Bordes had never had "l'honnêteté de détourner ces injustes soupçons; et moi, qui le connais parfaitement. . . j'ai eu la discrétion de ne le jamais nommer." ¹³

Five years later, on April 6, 1773, after the publication, with his knowledge, of the eleventh and twelfth parts of the Nouveaux Mélanges--which he termed "deux volumes d'horreurs affreuses"--he wrote to d'Argental that "on a inséré dans ce recueil infâme le Catéchumène, qui est, comme on le sait, d'un académicien de Lyon." ¹⁴ And again, early in 1776, the brochure was reprinted in the famous "Édition encadrée," in the preparation of which he had himself shared. ¹⁵ Even before this edition came on the market he disowned it, calling it an "infâme édition," in which there were "des pièces abominables contre les mœurs, contre la religion, et contre des personnes respectables." ¹⁶

As may easily be seen from the above, the whole matter of the authorship of le Catéchumène was, by 1776, well confused. Several contemporary writers had assigned it to Voltaire, while he had attributed it, first to Dulaurens, then to Bordes. He had further muddled the waters by allowing it to be printed in collections of his own works, which--with tongue in cheek--he violently disclaimed, along with certain of his scandalous writings, hoping thereby to give more weight to the disavowals of them which prudence impelled him to make.

No further mention of the brochure is to be found in Voltaire's writings. The stir which the publication of le Catéchumène had caused had largely died down. Writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such as Quérard, Beuchot, and other editors of Voltaire's works, the authors of the Dictionnaire historique, critique et bibliographique, and Antoine-Alexandre Barbier were generally agreed that it was not the work of Voltaire but of Bordes. Louis Barbier, however, asserted in a later edition of his father's Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes that if Bordes had been the author, Voltaire would probably have written of it favorably in the above mentioned letter to him of April 4, 1768. ¹⁷

More recent scholars have likewise considered it to be by Bordes. Among the most authoritative is Georges Bengesco, who

stated in his Voltaire: Bibliographie de ses oeuvres of 1882-90, after a discussion of the several attributions of authorship, that Bordes "est considéré aujourd'hui comme l'auteur de cette brochure."¹⁸

That Voltaire, La Harpe, and those editors and scholars who have held that Bordes was the author were correct is definitely established by a statement made in 1790 by the Parisian bookseller, author, printer and publisher, Charles-Joseph Panckoucke. It is well known that Voltaire, who during the last months of his life was occupied with the revision of his writings for the first complete edition which Panckoucke was then planning to publish, bequeathed to him his manuscripts. After having collected many additional manuscripts from several sources Panckoucke was forced by financial difficulties and the demands of his other numerous projects to abandon the plan. He therefore sold these materials to Beaumarchais, who published them in the Kehl edition of Voltaire's works.

In volume VII of the division Manufactures, arts et métiers of his great Encyclopédie méthodique, which consisted of 202 volumes when finally completed in 1832, Panckoucke tells the story of his manuscripts and Voltaire's connection with le Catéchumène as follows:

On a toujours imprimé dans la collection des Oeuvres de Voltaire un petit ouvrage très gai, très plaisant, mais par malheur infiniment peu orthodoxe, le Catéchumène. Cet ouvrage n'est pas de lui, et j'en ai la preuve certaine. Nombre de gens de lettres, qui ont été liés avec l'auteur le savent aussi bien que moi. Il est de Borde [sic], académicien de Lyon, dont on a publié les Oeuvres en quatre volumes, qui, réduites en un, lui auraient fait honneur. J'ai trouvé dans les papiers de Voltaire le manuscrit du Catéchumène, écrit en entier de la main de Borde. Voltaire n'y a point ajouté un seul mot: il n'a fait que supprimer, retrancher et réduire le manuscrit au quart de ce qu'il était; et cet ouvrage (supprimé dans la nouvelle édition de Voltaire par M. Beaumarchais), traînant dans l'original, est devenu, par ces simples suppressions, d'une gâté folle dans les Oeuvres de Voltaire. L'original doit être entre les mains de M. Beaumarchais, qui, comme l'on sait, a acquis de moi, pour 300 mille livres, les manuscrits de Voltaire.¹⁹

The above statement, which we may accept as authentic, establishes the following points: 1, as late as 1790 there was still con-

fusion as to the brochure's authorship, otherwise Panckoucke would not have felt it necessary to insist that he and other men of letters knew it to be the work of Bordes; 2, this knowledge motivated Panckoucke and later Beaumarchais to remove le Catéchumène from the collections of Voltaire's writings when the first complete edition, known as that of Kehl, was in preparation; 3, Voltaire did not contribute "un seul mot" to the piece, but did, according to Panckoucke, correct and seriously condense it; and 4, having had the original manuscript in his hands, Voltaire must have known at an early date, before the printing in the Nouveaux Mélanges, that the brochure was by Charles Bordes.

NOTES

1. Baron de Grimm, Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique, etc., 1813, V, 520.
2. Ibid., 521.
3. February 15, 1768 (1780 edit., III, 304).
4. Bonhomme edition, III, 192.
5. 1820, XII, 101.
6. Gazette d'Utrecht, March 18, April 5, 1768.
7. Voltaire, Oeuvres, Moland edition, XLV, 547.
8. Ibid., 542.
9. Oeuvres, XLVI, 5.
10. Barbier, Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes, 1872, I, 535.
11. Oeuvres, XLVI, 17.
12. Oeuvres, XLVI, 22.
13. Oeuvres, XLVI, 214.
14. Oeuvres, XLVI, 338.
15. Accompanying the piece in the "édition encadrée" and the following quarto edition is the following note: "On est certain que cet ouvrage n'est pas de M. de V***, mais de M. de B***. On a la copie écrite de sa main." See Bengesco, IV, 364. For a discussion of the "édition encadrée" one may consult the present writer's article, "Voltaire and Charles-Joseph Panckoucke" in KFLQ, I, 179-197.
16. KFLQ, I, 187; Voltaire, Oeuvres, XLIX, 500.
17. I, 536.
18. IV, 363.
19. P. 23.

The writer used data from this study in a paper read at the Tenth Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, April 26, 1957.

RECENT BOOKS IN THE FIELD OF
GERMAN LITERATURE

E. K. Bennett. Stefan George. Cambridge, Bowes and Bowes, 1954. Pp. 63.

Like other volumes in the "Studies in Modern European Thought and Literature," issued by Bowes and Bowes, this little study of George attempts to summarize the basic aspects of the poet's art and thought. George is a difficult poet to handle in a brief study, but Bennett has done justice to his subject.

Rudolf Borchhardt. Reden. Stuttgart, E. Klett, 1955. Pp. 445.

These essays of Rudolf Borchhardt (1877-1944) deal with such subjects as Hofmannsthal, Schiller, "Die neue Poesie und die alte Menschheit," "Das Geheimnis der Poesie," "Erbrechte der Dichtung," "Dichtung und Forschen," "Revolution and Tradition in der Literatur," and "Der Antike und der deutsche Völkergeist." This is the first volume of a proposed complete edition of Borchhardt's works.

Guido Devescovi. Il "Doktor Faustus" di Thomas Mann. Problemi e considerazioni. Trieste, E. Borsatti, 1955. Pp. 155.

Although the arrangement of this book is somewhat haphazard, it is rich in ideas and is based on a detailed knowledge of the critical literature. Borsatti is original in his approach and does not hesitate to attack established ideas.

J. Dresch. Heine à Paris (1831-1856), d'après sa correspondance et les témoignages de ses contemporains. Paris, Marcel Didier, 1956. ("Études de Littérature étrangère et comparée," 33). Pp. 177.

This is a documentary review of the last twenty-five years of the poet's life. We see him in a new and different light, and many ideas in biographical studies of Heine will be modified by this presentation.

Alexander Dürst. Die lyrischen Vorstufen des "Grünen Heinrich". Bern, A. Francke, 1955. ("Basler Studien," 17.) Pp. 129.

*In each subsequent issue of the Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly significant books received for review will be listed with short annotations. The classical, mediaeval, Romance and Germanic fields will be covered in rotation.

It is well known that the ideas on which Der Grüne Heinrich is based are expressed in earlier lyric poetry by Keller. Dürst carefully compares the ideas in the poetry and in the novel and shows how the poetic ideas of Keller's youth reappear in his mature prose.

Hugh Garten. Gerhart Hauptmann. Cambridge, Bowes and Bowes, 1954. Pp. 72.

Garten reviews the whole corpus of Hauptmann's work under four headings: naturalism, romanticism, hellenism, and mysticism. He identifies Hauptmann's position in the main streams of European thought and offers many happy analyses of Hauptmann's individual works.

Viktor von Geramb. Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, Leben und Wirken. 4-7. Lief. Salzburg-Freilassing /Obb., Otto Müller, 1955. Pp. 289-607.

This final section of Geramb's bibliography of Riehl traces the writer's career from his appointment in 1859 as professor of the history of civilization in Munich until his death in 1879. Thoroughly documented, this work describes the life of a man who was not only a scholar but also a public figure of major proportions.

Gotthilf Hafner. Hermann Hesse, Werk und Leben. 2. erweiterte Auflage. Nuremberg, Hans Carl, 1954. Pp. 176.

This brief sketch is only an introduction, but it is a successful one. Perhaps the best section is the one on the Glasperlenspiel.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Rudolf Borchardt. Briefwechsel. Frankfurt/Main, S. Fischer, 1954. Pp. 245.

This is one of Hofmannsthal's most important exchanges of letters, and many productive ideas of both writers are revealed. Editors are Marie-Luise Borchardt and Herbert Steiner.

August E. Hohler. Das Heilige in der Dichtung. Zürich, Atlantis Verlag, 1954. ("Zürcher Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur - und Geistesgeschichte," 10.) Pp. 215.

This work contains detailed analyses of the religious elements in the work of Klopstock and the young Goethe (Werther, Satyros, Urfaust Prometheus, Mahomet, and Ganymed). There is a tendency to be superficial, but in general Hohler's contribution is original and stimulating.

Carl von Kraus. Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts.
7. Lief. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 1955. Pp. 134.

This fascicle of Kraus' great work nearly completes the second volume and covers the texts on pp. 240-354 of the first volume. Here is an indispensable text in Middle High German literature.

August Langen. Hans Carossa, Weltbild und Stil. Berlin-Bielefeld, E. Schmidt, 1955. Pp. X, 190.

Carossa died in 1956, a link between two generations of German culture. Langen identifies clearly the traditions represented by Carossa, mainly those of Goethe and Stifter, and he analyzes Carossa's themes and symbols with much insight.

Andreas Müller. Landschaftserlebnis und Landschaftsbild. Studien zur deutschen Dichtung des 18. Jahrhunderts und der Romantik. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1955. Pp. 247.

This study of the use of physical nature by German poets of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is thoughtful and detailed. We see the landscape as portrayed by writers from Haller to Eichendorff, and Müller reveals this aspect of creative writing as a significant key to the understanding of German literature of the period he treats.

Joachim Müller, comp. Das Weltbild Friedrich Hebbels. Halle, VEB Max Niemeyer, 1955. Pp. 254.

This is a systematic arrangement of Hebbel's ideas with brief commentaries by the compiler. Müller reveals a comprehensive knowledge of Hebbel's work, and his selections are judicious, his commentary enlightening.

Walter Naumann. Grillparzer, das dichterische Werk. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1956. ("Urban-Bücher, Die wissenschaftliche Taschenbuchreihe.") Pp. XII, 182.

This is a study of Grillparzer's language, his themes, and his literary associations (notably Goethe and Calderón). Brilliant in inspiration, incisive in critical judgments, Naumann has made a basic contribution to the Grillparzer literature.

Rainer Maria Rilke and Katharina Kippenberg. Briefwechsel (1910-1926). Wiesbaden, Insel-Verlag, 1954. Pp. 725.

This collection consists of 139 letters from the poet and 151 from Katharina Kippenberg. There is an enormous amount of literary experience by both writers in these letters, and they are indispensable for a study of the influences that played on Rilke.

Rotraut Ruck. Walther von der Vogelweide. Der künstlerische Gedankenaufbau. Basel, Benno Schwabe, 1954. Pp. 47.

This is a fragment of a much larger work which Ruck will devote to Walther's gnomic poetry as a whole. Eleven strophes are analyzed in detail, and an effort is made to show how Walther adapted different subjects to each Ton.

Pierre-Paul Sagave. Réalité sociale et idéologie religieuse dans les romans de Thomas Mann. Les Buddenbrook, La Montagne magique, Le Docteur Faustus. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1954. Pp. 168.

By concentrating on these three novels Sagave is able to trace Mann's views on contemporary German civilization: middle-class Germany before World War I (Buddenbrooks), post-World War I Germany (Zauberberg), and the Nazi period (Doktor Faustus). A particularly useful feature is the note on Lübeck's nineteenth century history.

Ernst Schumacher. Die dramatischen Versuche Bertolt Brechts 1918-1933. Berlin, Rütten und Loening, 1955. ("Neue Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft," 3.) Pp. 596.

Here is a detailed analysis of the literature of revolt of the 1920's. Schumacher studies the dramatic history of the period between the wars and reports much curious detail. His criticism of Brecht himself is somewhat less successful.

Ralph Tymms. German Romantic Literature. London, Methuen, 1955. Pp. 406.

Tymms approaches German romanticism as escape literature which elected the lyric and the Märchen as its main vehicles. He achieves his purpose, although at the expense of a balanced treatment of the whole period.

Hugo Wyss. Die Frau in der Dichtung Hofmannsthals, Eine Studie zum dionysischen Welterlebnis. Zürich, M. Niehans, 1954. Pp. 190.

Women play a major role in Hofmannsthal's work, and Wyss attempts to identify their literary functions here from a psychoanalytical standpoint. The "dionysiac" aspects of Hofmannsthal may not be as clear to all readers as they are to Wyss, but it is a note that cannot be overlooked.

LST

BOOKS RECEIVED

R. Bossuat. Le roman de Renard. Paris:Hatier-Boivin, 1957. ("Connaissance des Lettres," No. 49). Pp. 192. 450 Frs.

Euclides da Cunha. Os Sertões. Rebellion in the Backlands. Translated by Samuel Putnam. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1957. ("Phoenix Books"). Pp. xxx, 532. \$1.95.

J. Frappier. Chrétien de Troyes: l'Homme et l'oeuvre. Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1957. ("Connaissance des Lettres," No. 50). Pp. 256. 540 Frs.

Victor Hugo, Choix de poèmes, edited by Jean Gaudon. Manchester, England:University of Manchester Press, 1957. Distributed in U.S.A. exclusively by Barnes and Noble, Inc., New York. Pp. xi, 202. \$1.50.

Stuart E. Mann. An English-Albanian Dictionary. New York:Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. 434. \$15.

Galia Millard. Les empereurs de Rome. Ann Arbor:University of Michigan Press, 1957. Pp. 179. Glossary. \$5.

Stephen Ullmann. Style in the French Novel. New York:Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. 273. \$7.



KENTUCKY FOREIGN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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to
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*On leave.

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